

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARAMA 00410 01 OF 02 212344Z

65

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 EA-07 OMB-01 EB-07 COME-00 /084 W

----- 022273

R 211905Z AUG 75

FM AMCONSUL PARAMARIBO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2139

INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMCONSUL CURACAO

AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PARAMARIBO 0410

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PORS, NL

SUBJ: COALITION WEAKENED AS INDEPENDENCE APPROACHES

REF : PARAMARIBO 077

1. RECENT WEEKS HAVE SEEN FOUR-PART GOVERNING COALITION (NPK) WEAKENED BY DEFECTIONS IN PARLIAMENT, INTERNAL DISAGREEMENTS, TO POINT THERE IS QUESTION WHETHER IT CAN GOVERN IN PRESENT FORM THROUGH INDEPENDENCE, WHICH COULD BE POSTPONED IF SITUATION WERE TO FORCE NEW ELECTIONS. UNCERTAINTIES HAVE ERODED PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN GOS AND HEIGHTENED APPREHENSIONS OVER STABILITY OF COUNTRY DURING MONTHS REMAINING BEFORE INDEPENDENCE (NOV. 25) AND BEYOND.

2. UNTIL RECENTLY COALITION HAS ENJOYED COMFORTABLE 22-17 MAJORITY IN 39-SEAT STATEN (PARLIAMENT) WHICH GUARANTEED AUTOMATIC PASSAGE GOS LEGISLATION. RACIALLY BASED NPK BEGAN TO FRAY AROUND EDGES WHEN ERRATIC JAVANESE MEMBER OF NPS (CREOLE DOMINATED SENIOR COALITION PARTY), SUMOHARDJO, LEFT COALITION TO SIT AS ONE-MAN NPS "FRACTION", CHARGING ECONOMICALLY DEPRIVED JAVANESE IGNORED BY GOS IN TERMS SOCIAL SERVICES AND PATRONAGE.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARAMA 00410 01 OF 02 212344Z

WHILE SUMOHARDJO AT FIRST DISMISSED AS SELF-SEEKING CRANK,

MATTER BECAME SERIOUS WHEN HE FOLLOWED OUT OF COALITION BY LIE KONG FONG, NPS MEMBER OF STATEN AND MRS. LIESDEK-CLARKE OF NPS, THE FORMER UNDER PRESSURE FROM DISGRUNTLED CHINESE MERCHANT CONSTITUENCY, THE LATTER OSTENSIBLY ON PRINCIPLE. MOVEMENTS BROUGHT COALITION MEMBERSHIP DOWN TO 19 VERSUS 17 FOR OPPOSITION LED BY EAST INDIAN VHP, AND PLACES NPS FRACTION IN POSITION SWING STATEN IN EITHER DIRECTION.

3. THERE IS LITTLE QUESTION THAT VHP ENCOURAGED DEPARTURES, IS WORKING ON OTHERS, AND POSSIBLY DISBURSED FUNDS IN PLAYING UPON VEXATIONS, AMBITIONS, AND PERHAPS FINANCIAL PROBLEMS OF DEFECTORS. BUT IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT DEFECTIONS REFLECT WIDER-SPREAD DISAFFECTION WITHIN COALITION AND IN POPULATION AT LARGE.

4. MAIN FOCUS OF DISCONTENT, CUTTING ACROSS ETHNIC AND PARTY LINES, IS EDDY BRUMA, ECONOMICS MINISTER AND HEAD OF PNR, LEFT-WING CREOLE PARTY AND UNEASY MEMBER OF MODERATE COALITION. THE CRITICS' LIST OF CHARGES IS EXTENSIVE: THAT BRUMA PREVAILS WITH MINPRES ARRON ON IMPORTANT QUESTIONS, THE LATTER ACQUIESCING TO MAINTAIN NPK UNITY; THAT BRUMA BUILDING PERSONAL FOLLOWING OF POOR URBAN BLACKS FOR STREET ACTION IF PNR OUSTED FROM POWER; THAT HIS COMMERCIAL INTERVENTIONS ARE RACIALLY MOTIVATED; THAT HE SOWING ECONOMIC CHAOS WHILE AWAITING MOMENT TO STEP IN AND TAKE CHARGE; THAT BRUMA'S STATE PURCHASING AND DISTRIBUTING AGENCY (CIS) IS POLITICAL VEHICLE, BADLY RUN, RESPONSIBLE FOR CHRONIC SHORTAGES OF BASIC COMMODITIES, AND IS PAUPERIZING EAST INDIAN FARMERS AND CHINESE MERCHANTS; AND THAT BRUMA IS A CLOSET COMMUNIST.

5. AFTER MOST RECENT TALK WITH BRUMA, I AM PERSUADED THERE IS BASIS FOR SOME CHARGES, LESS FOR OTHERS. HE STRESSED THAT HE WANTS ELIMINATE CHINESE MIDDLEMEN (WHOLESALEERS ARE "MURDERERS") AND RATIONALIZE DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM (1,000 SHOPS TOO MANY, MUST BE CULLED AND MERGED); WILL FIGHT TO MAINTAIN CIS TO KEEP PRICE OF STAPLES DOWN AND HAS SUPPORT OF "THE PEOPLE" FOR THIS; COALITION WILL SURVIVE PRESENT INTERNAL STRAINS AND IF IT SHOULD NOT, VHP CANNOT WIN ELECTION BECAUSE OF DISORGANIZATION, LACK OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TOP AND MEMBERSHIP. POINTEDLY, BRUMA REMARKED IN REFERENCE TO POLARIZING RACIAL DISORDERS LAST

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARAMA 00410 01 OF 02 212344Z

MAY, AND SPORADIC ARSON SINCE, "VHP SNEAKS AT NIGHT TO SET FIRES. PNR WILL TAKE TO STREETS IN DAYLIGHT. 1973 SHOWED THAT." (THERE WAS RIOTING IN PARAMARIBO IN 1973, STEMMING FROM STRIKES.)

6. BRUMA IS FORCEFUL IDEOLOGUE, CHARISMATIC, INTIMIDATING, STUBBORN, BORN DEMAGOGUE ALL OF INCREASINGLY VOCAL ANTI-BRUMA MODERATES IN COALITION WATCHING TO SEE IF MILD-MANNERED MINPRES CAN FORCE ECONMIN INTO SATISFACTORY COMPROMISE ON CIS

ISSUE, BEHIND WHICH MODERATES AND CONSERVATIVES HAVE UNITED. FAILURE TO SATISFY COULD TRIGGER FURTHER DEFECTIONS, FALL OF ARRON GOVERNMENT (AND WITH IT PNR). MODERATES, PRINCIPALLY COALITION PARTNERS PSV (CENTER-LEFT CATHOLICS) AND KTPI (CENTRIST JAVANESE), ARE MOREOVER DEMANDING AS YET UNFORMED DEFENSE MINISTRY BE HEADED BY ONE OF THEIR FAITHFUL TO KEEP ARMY OUT OF PNR HANDS, SINCE JUSTICE AND POLICE MINISTRY ALREADY PRN PORTFOLIO.

7. AS ARRON TRIES PATCH UP NPK HE ALSO ATTEMPTING CONTINUE SAGGING DIALOGUE INITIATED WITH VHP AFTER MAY DISORDERS, PRINCIPALLY ON LATTER'S DEMANDS THAT CIS BE ABOLISHED, VHP BE CONSULTED ON DRAFT CONSTITUTION TO ASSURE CIVIL RIGHTS GUARANTEES I.E. BARS TO BLACK SUPREMACY, CONSTITUTION BE ADOPTED BY TWO-THIRD MAJORITY IN STATEN (REQUIRING OPPOSITION AGREEMENT) BEFORE REALM CHARTER ALTERED IN SEPTEMBER TO EXCLUDE SURINAM, AND THAT FIRST PRESIDENT BE ELECTED AT LARGE. ARRON'S DILEMNA IS THAT DEFECTORS ARE MAKING SIMILAR DEMANDS (ADDING FORCE TO THEORY VHP ASSISTED IN SEPARATING THEM FROM NPK), AND THAT TO MEET THESE TO INDUCE THEIR RETURN TO FOLD COULD BE SEEN AS CAVING IN TO OPPOSITION. THIS COULD LEAD TO CALLS FOR ARRON'S OUSTER BY "PROGRESSIVE" MEMBERS OF COALITION AND ALL-ROUND SHOWDOWN HE TRYING TO AVERT.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARAMA 00410 02 OF 02 212358Z

65

ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 EA-07 OMB-01 COME-00 EB-07 /084 W

----- 022363

R 211905Z AUG 75

FM AMCONSUL PARAMARIBO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2140

INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

AMCONSUL CURACAO

AMCONSUL MARTINIQUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PARAMARIBO 0410

8. UNCERTAIN OF FUTURE, APPREHENSIVE SURINAMERS OF ALL RACES ARE LEAVING COUNTRY IN RECORD NUMBERS FOR HOLLAND. CHINESE CLOSING SHOPS, INDIANS LEAVING FIELDS IN HANDS OF RELATIVES AS THEY DEPART TO WAIT OUT INDEPENDENCE PERIOD. SOME, OF COURSE, WILL RETURN IF FEARS OF RACIAL STRIFE AND CREOLE PARTICULARISM ABATE. THEY ARE NOT REASSURED, THOUGH, BY SEEMINGLY INTRACTABLE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PNR MIN JUSTICE AND POLICE AND NATIONAL POLICE FORCE. FORCE HAS GONE ON SEMI-STRIKE AND DESERTED STREETS, TRAFFIC DIRECTION REMAINS NONEXISTENT IN CAPITAL, POLICE UNRESPONSIVE TO SURALCO RIOT, AND DID NOT RESIST RECENT ATTACK OF INDIAN MOB ON RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICE IN NICKERIE, REPORTEDLY VHP-INSPIRED.

9. COMMENT: SITUATION SUGGESTS THREE POSSIBLE DENOUEMENTS:

A. CABINET SOURCES HAVE TOLD ME MINPRES ARRON ALREADY HAS CONSULTED WITH GOVERNOR FERRIER REGARDING HIS POSSIBLE RESIGNATION SHOULD DEFECTIONS RENDER COALITION UNABLE TO GOVERN. GOV MIGHT THEN APPOINT INTERIM CABINET, PERHAPS INCLUDING ARRON, PENDING NEW ELECTIONS. THIS COULD FORCE POSTPONEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE. MANY OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT REVITALIZED VHP COULD WIN ALONE OR THAT ELECTION MIGHT BE CONTESTED WITH VHP
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARAMA 00410 02 OF 02 212358Z

AND NPS IN COALITION. THIS, HOWEVER, WOULD REDUCE NOW-OMINANT NPS TO JUNIOR PARTNER AND RISK SERIOUS DRAIN OF YOUNGER MEMBERS TO PNR.

B. FACED WITH FURTHER DEFECTIONS, IT CONCEIVABLE THAT NPS, PSV, AND KTPI COULD VOTE PNR OUT OF COALITION AND GOVERN IN COOPERATION WITH VHP SINCE NPK MINUS PNR WOULD HAVE TIE VOTE IN STATEN WITH OPPOSITION. THIS RAISES POSSIBILITY, ENCOURAGED BY BRUMA AND ACCEPTED BY LOCAL INTELLIGENCE SERVICE, THAT PNR WOULD RESORT TO VIOLENCE IF EFFORT WERE MADE TO DEPRIVE IT WITHOUT ELECTIONS OF POWER IT DERIVES FROM COALITION MEMBERSHIP. THREAT IS ONE, HOWEVER, THAT SOME RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL FIGURES FEEL IS PERHAPS BETTER FACED NOW WHILE DUTCH GARRISON REMAINS THAN AFTER INDEPENDENCE. BUT PNR COULD BRING A GOOD DEAL OF PRESSURE TO BEAR, POSSIBLY CLOSING DOWN SCHOOLS AND SHOPS WHERE PNR-BASED UNIONS ARE STRONG.

C. BUT BOTH ARRON AND BRUMA ARE ENTHUSIASTIC POLITICAL ANIMALS WITH A TASTE FOR POWER, STILL SEE ONE AS NECESSARY TO THE OTHER, DESPITE DIFFERENCES IN TEMPERAMENT AND POLITICAL OUTLOOK. THE POSSIBILITIES FOR TRIMMING AND PAPERING OVER ARE FAR FROM EXHAUSTED AND BOTH OF THESE PERSONALITIES REMAIN DETERMINED TO BRING IN INDEPENDENCE UNDER NPK IMPRIMATUR. AFTER ALL, CURRENT DEFECTORS HAVE NOT YET DECLARED THEY WOULD VOTE AGAINST NPK, THOUGH IMPLYING THEY MIGHT ON CERTAIN ISSUES: CIS AND CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS.

NPK IN PRESENT FORM MAY WELL BE REPAIRED, POSSIBLY AT COST OF
MOVING INDEPENDENCE DATE BACK TO ALLOW FOR ORDERLY CONSTITUTIONAL
DEBATE AND FOR COMPROMISES TO BE WORKED OUT SUCH AS HEAVY
COSMETIC JOB ON CIS, ADOPTION OF CONSTITUTION BY TWO-THIRDS
MAJORITY, BUT APPOINTMENT OF PRESIDENT BY STATEN. AT THIS STAGE,
AT LEAST, THIS SEEMS MOST LIKELY SCENARIO.
FLANEGIN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COALITION GOVERNMENT, INDEPENDENCE, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975PARAMA00410
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750290-0341
From: PARAMARIBO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750831/aaaabawd.tel
Line Count: 230
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ARA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 PARAMARIBO 77
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 06 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <06 JUN 2003 by SmithRJ>; APPROVED <09 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: COALITION WEAKENED AS INDEPENDENCE APPROACHES
TAGS: PINT, PORS, NL
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006